

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 222932

FOLLOWING REPEAT STOCKHOLM 03839 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO  
COPENHAGEN HELSINKI HONG KONG MOSCOW OSLO PEKING RAYKJAVIK  
NATO DATED AUGUST 31.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 3839

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SW, US, FI, CH, UR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER PALME

1. I CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER PALME AT HIS OFFICE ON  
AUGUST 28 TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE I HAD BEGUN WITH HIM  
IN JUNE SHORTLY AFTER MY ARRIVAL (STOCKHOLM 2387). THE  
PRIME MINISTER GREETED ME WARMLY, AND THE ENSUING CON-  
VERSATION--WHICH LASTED MORE THAN AN HOUR--FLOWED IN AN  
AMICABLE SPIRIT. OUR CONVERSATION COVERED A WIDE RANGE  
OF TOPICS:

A. CONTINUITY OF US POLICY. I TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER  
THAT I WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY OF OUR MEETING TO REITERATE  
THE CONTINUITY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PRESIDENT  
FORD, AS HAD EARLIER BEEN EXPLAINED TO THE GOS IN A NOTE  
FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON. THE  
PRIME MINISTER SAID HE WAS VERY MUCH GRATIFIED AT THIS  
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REAFFIRMATION. I ALSO USED THE OCCASION TO GIVE THE

PRIME MINISTER THE TEST OF THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN LEGION IN MIAMI. HE GLANCED AT IT, REMARKING THAT HE HAD SEEN EXERPTS OF IT IN THE PARIS EDITION OF THE HEARLD TRIBUNE, AND WAS GRATEFUL TO HAVE THE COMPLETE SPEECH.

B. ROCKEFELLER NOMINATION. MR. PALME COMMENTED THAT THE WAS PLEASED AT THE NOMINATION OF MR. ROCKEFELLER AS VICE PRESIDENT, OBSERVING THAT HE HAD MET NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S BROTHER DAVID AT THE BILDERBERG CONFERENCE AND, SOME YEARS AGO, HAD ENGAGED IN A TV DEBATE WITH HIM. THE PRIME MINISTER SEEMED MUCH IMPRESSED BY WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE "PUBLIC SPIRIT" OF THE ROCKEFELLER FAMILY AND ITS HIGHLY DEVELOPED SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

C. PITEA SPEECH. CONTINUING, THE PRIME MINISTER REMARKED THAT AS A RESULT OF THE BAD WEATHER IN SWEDEN THIS SUMMER, HE HAD SPENT HIS VACATION WORKING ON THE SPEECH HE HAD DELIVERED IN PITEA AUGUST 4 (STOCKHOLM A-264). HE OBSERVED WRYLY THAT IT WAS NOT HIS BEST SPEECH BECAUSE HE HAD NOT SUFFICIENT TIME TO WORK ON THE CONCLUSION. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIET PRESS (NOVOJE VREMYA) HAD SEVERELY CRITICIZED THE SPEECH BECAUSE OF ITS ALLEGED CRITICISM OF SUPER POWER DOMINATION AND ESPOUSAL OF THE CHINESE POSITION ON THE DOMINANCE OF THE VESTED BUREAUCRACY IN THE SOVIET UNION. WHILE THIS HAD ALSO CAUSED THE LOCAL COMMUNIST PARTY MUCH PAIN, MR. PALME CONTINUED, HE HAD TO STATE HIS VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT BECAUSE OF HIS ALLEGIANCE TO SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY THAT REJECTS "ELITISM."

(REFERRING TO THE PRC, THE PRIME MINISTER NOTED THAT PEKING'S POLICY HAS CHANGED, FOR IT NO LONGER ASSERTS THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A THREAT TO CHINA BUT RATHER REPRESENTS A MORTAL DANGER TO THE SECURITY OF EUROPE.)

D. CONSTRAINTS ON SMALL NATIONS. I TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER I HAD READ HIS PITEA SPEECH AND FOUND IT TO BE OF INTEREST AS A DOCTRINAL STATEMENT BUT THAT I COULD NOT SHARE HIS VIEWS ON THE EXISTENCE OF A SUPER POWER CONDOMINIUM AND ITS THREAT TO SMALL NATIONS. MR. PALME NOTED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED MUCH CRITICISM ON THIS

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POINT BUT ASSERTED THAT HE HAD NOT MEANT TO CNVEY THE IDEA THAT SMALL NATIONS WERE ALTOGETHER PREVENTED FROM CHANGING THE STATUS QUO BECAUSE OF SUPER POWER INTERVENTION; IN FACT, HE CONTINUED, UNDER THE DETENTE POLICY SMALL POWERS REALLY HAVE MORE LATITUDE TO CHANGE SITUATIONS UNFAVORABLE TO THEM BECAUSE THEY KNOW THE GREAT POWERS WILL INTERVENE AFTER A CERTAIN POINT TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE. THIS, HE SAID, IS WHAT SADAT DID--HE HAD LATITUDE TO ATTACK

ISRAEL BUT HE KNEW THAT WHEN THE FORTUNES OF WAR CHANGED THAT EGYPT WOULD BE SAVED FROM DEFEAT BY BIG POWER INTERVENTION. WITHIN CERTAIN MARGINS, HE ADDED, THE SMALL NATIONS COULD OPERATE FREELY.

E. THE "NEW" SOVIET STYLE. THE PRIME MINISTER COMMENTED THAT HE WAS CERTAIN THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO SWEDEN (YAKOVLEV) MUST HAVE BEEN UNHAPPY WITH HIS PEECH. HE SAID THAT YAKOVLEV HAD FORMERLY BEEN IN CHARGE OF THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR SOVIET DIPLOMATS, AND THAT MUCH COULD BE LEARNED ABOUT THE NEW GENERATION OF SOVIET DIPLOMATS SIMPLY BY OBSERVING HIS (YAKOVLEV'S) STYLE. ACCORDING TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THIS NEW DIPLOMATIC STYLE IS CHARACTERIZED BY A MEASURE OF STOLIDITY, INCLUDING THE REPETITION OF THE SAME QUESTIONS TO OBTAIN A CLEAR STATEMENT OF POLICY. (I CAN ATTEST TO THIS FROM MY OWN CONVERSATIONS WITH AMBASSADOR YAKOVLEV.)

F. VISIT OF FINNISH PRIME MINISTER. THE PRIME MINISTER HAD JUST BID ADIEU AN HOUR EARLIER TO FINNISH PRIME MINISTER KALEVI SORSA, WHO HAD BEEN ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO SWEDEN. HE SAID HE HAD A GOOD CONVERSATIONS WITH HIS "OLD FRIEND" SORSA, AND NOTED THAT FINNISH-SWEDISH TRADE IS INCREASING TO THE POINT THAT IT IS ROUGHLY EQUAL TO THAT OF FINLAND'S TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. ACCORDING TO PALME, THE FINNS WANT CLOSER RELATIONS NOT ONLY WITH SWEDEN BUT WITH ALL NORDIC COUNTRIES, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THEIR WESTERN TIES AND THUS BALANCE THEIR RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW. DURING SORSA'S VISIT, HE CONTINUED, A PROGRAM FOR JOINT VENTURES WAS AGREED UPON, INCLUDING AN INCREASE OF SWEDISH INVESTMENT IN FINLAND. PALME OBSERVED THAT FINNISH POLITICS ARE EXTREMELY COMPLICATED BECAUSE OF THE FRAGMENTATION OF PARTIES, BUT SAID THAT

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SORSA HAD SUCCEEDED IN CREATING A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF INTERNAL STABILITY AS WELL AS GREATER BALANCE BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE USSR IN FINLAND'S RELATIONS. (COMMENT: THE PRIME MINISTER WAS OBVIOUSLY ATTRIBUTING THIS ACHIEVEMENT TO HIS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC COLLEAGUE, SORSA, RATHER THAN TO THE MAN USUALLY CREDITED WITH IT, PRESIDENT KEKKONEN.)

G. STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID HE IS WORKING ON WHAT HE TERMED "A STATEMENT OF PRICIPLES" WHICH WOULD BE USED AS GUIDELINES BY SWEDISH REPRESENTATIVES AT ALL INTERNATIONAL FORA. HE OBSERVED THAT SWEDISH DIPLOMATS AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES SEEMED TO BE SPEAKING WITH TOO MANY VOICES; HENCE HE WISHED TO CODIFY SWEDISH POSITIONS SO THAT THEY WOULD BE IDENTICAL REGARDLESS OF

THE PARTICULAR FORUM. (I WISHED HIM LUCK ON THIS UNCERTAIN UNDERTAKING.)

2. COMMENT: THE PRIME MINISTER SEEMED IN EXCELLENT SPIRITS AND I THOUGHT HIS APPEARANCE HAD IMPROVED SINCE OUR PREVIOUS MEETING IN JUNE. HE APPEARED TO BE ENJOYING THE ATTENTION--MUCH OF IT CRITICAL--HIS RECENT SPEECHES ON FOREIGN POLICY HAD RECEIVED. I THINK IT IS INDICATIVE OF THE GOOD RELATIONSHIPS WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THAT ALTHOUGH THE PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN BUSY WITH OFFICIAL GUEST SORSA, HE NEVERTHELESS AGREED TO MEET ME THE SAME DAY MY SECRETARY MADE THE REQUEST.

3. PALME COMMENTS ON PRG REPORTED IN SEPARATE CABLE.  
STRAUSZ-HUPE UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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